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THE CHRONIC

DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER

CHAPTER X

CRIMINAL CAREER

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Project 52

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CONTENTS

	Page
The Criminal Career of the Chronic Drunkenness Offender - Introduction	1
Selection of the Sample	7
The Data: Sources and Limitations	
Sources	7
Limitations	9
Comparison with other Studies	10
Criminal Career Pattern	17
Types of Crime	23
Sentences	31
Phases in the Chronic Drunkenness Career	34
Age, Chronic Drunkenness, and Criminality	38
Present Age	38
Age at First Arrest for Drunkenness	39
First Adult Arrest	46
Rates of Arrest for Public Intoxication	48
Discussion	56
Appendix I Case Histories	61
Appendix II Stability Index	71
Bibliography	73

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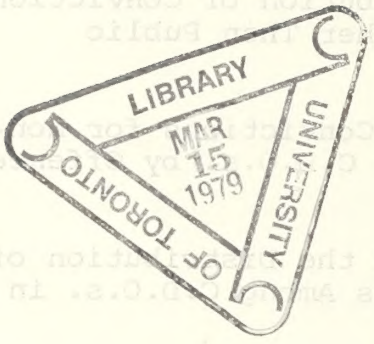
TABLES

		Page
Table X-1	Source and Distribution of Data	9
X-2	Comparison of Offence Categories in Three Studies	11
X-3	Mobility Pattern (After entry into Revolving Door Pattern)	15
X-4	Comparison of the C.D.O.s. in Toronto and Small City	16
X-5	Total Number of Lifetime Indictable Offences	18
X-6	Lifetime Distribution of Convictions for Offences Other Than Public Intoxication	19
X-7	Total Lifetime Convictions for Non-B.L.C.A. Offences of 285 C.D.O.s. by Offence Category	20
X-8	A Comparison of the Distribution of Certain Offences Among C.D.O.s. in Three Studies	21
X-9	Distribution of Offences Related to Chronic Drunkenness (Other Than Public Intoxication) During the 6 Years Preceding the Sample Selection	28
X-10	Distribution of Sentences for Offences Other Than Liquor Offences	31
X-11	Frequency of Distribution of Sentences by Offender Sub-Groupings	32
X-12	Distribution of Total Sentenced Time for Non-B.L.C.A. Offences Among Offender Groups	33
X-13	Criminal Career Relative to Chronic Drunkenness	35
X-14	The Present Age of the Chronic Drunkenness Offender	40



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5309
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v. 10

TABLES - con'td.

		Page
Table X-15	Age of Offender Groups at First Arrest for Drunkenness	41
X-16	Age (collapsed) at First Arrest for Drunkenness of Offender Groups	42
X-17	Age at First Arrest for Drunkenness and Indictable Offence	43
X-18	Age Began Heavy Drinking - by Offender Groups	44
X-19	Period of Time Spent in the Revolving Door Pattern	45
X-20	Offence Category of First Adult Arrest by Sub-Groupings	47
X-21	Comparison of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions in the Past Six Years Among Offender Groups	51
X-22	Number of Convictions for Drunkenness Over Last 12 Months by Sub-Groups	51
X-23	Trend of Convictions for Drunkenness Over the Past Six Years	53
X-24	Length of Time Since Last Convictions for an Indictable Offence	53
X-25	Stability of the Four Groups of Chronic Drunkenness Offenders according to the Stability Typology	53
	Stability Index - Appendix II	71

TABLES - con't'd.

		Page
Table X-15	Age of Offender Groups at First Arrest for Drunkenness	41
X-16	Age (collapsed) at First Arrest for Drunkenness of Offender Groups	42
X-17	Age at First Arrest for Drunkenness and Indictable Offence	43
X-18	Age Began Heavy Drinking - by Offender Groups	44
X-19	Period of Time Spent in the Revolving Door Pattern	45
X-20	Offence Category of First Adult Arrest by Sub-Groupings	47
X-21	Comparison of the Total Number of Drunkenness Convictions in the Past Six Years Among Offender Groups	51
X-22	Number of Convictions for Drunkenness Over Last 12 Months by Sub-Groups	52
X-23	Trend of Convictions for Drunkenness Over the Past Six Years	53
X-24	Length of Time Since Last Convictions for an Indictable Offence	53
X-25	Stability of the Four Groups of Chronic Drunkenness Offenders according to the Stability Typology	57
	Stability Index - Appendix II	71

CHAPTER X

THE CRIMINAL CAREER OF THE CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER

The literature provides scant material on the criminal histories of the chronic police case inebriate. In 1945 Paul Wenger (4) made a comparison of 400 'temperate' and 400 'intemperate' drinkers incarcerated in Clinton State Prison, New York, as to their marital and job status, physical and mental development and the types of crimes they had committed. Unfortunately the terms temperate and intemperate were not defined (at one point 'abstainer' is used as a synonym for 'temperate drinker') nor were we told the charges for which these men were imprisoned. Wenger drew the conclusions that

> ...the excessive use of alcohol is responsible for a considerable number of all incarcerations; exactly one third of the inmates of a penal institution committed one or several crimes while in a state of intoxication. (p.1534)

Gross sex crimes were attributed to the same cause, since alcohol "abolishes moral and especially sexual inhibitions".

Pittman and Gordon (3) in 1958, and Edward Blacker (2) in 1959, were the first to undertake studies that went beyond a concern for establishing the causal relationship between serious criminality and alcoholism. Moreover their interest was with an analysis of the criminal career, specifically of the chronic drunkenness offenders who were at the time in prison on charges of public intoxication.

CHAPTER X

THE CRIMINAL CAREER OF THE CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER

Pittman and Gordon used a random sample of 187 male recidivists with at least one previous drunk conviction, currently serving sentences for intoxication of 30 days or more in the Monroe County Penitentiary, New York State. These authors differentiated their group into 3 offender categories according to the nature of their offences: those who had been arrested for public intoxication only; those who had committed offences which appear to be related to problems engendered by excessive use of alcohol, such as vagrancy, disorderly conduct and assault, as well as drunkenness; and those who had committed crimes of a serious nature, together with the other two types of offences. Thirty-one per cent of the offenders had been arrested for public drunkenness only; 37 per cent had had serious charges. The authors came to this conclusion:

> ...the finding that over one-third of the incarcerated inebriates have had ordinary criminal careers which were unsuccessful lends some support to the belief, hitherto unsupported by empirical fact ... that the pattern of excessive drinking is an adaptation to the lack of success in the criminal career. (p.542)

Blacker felt that this tended to support a generally held belief, particularly among prison officials, that criminality characterized men who become chronic drunkenness offenders. Since Blacker did not share this belief he set out to determine its validity, drawing his sample from offenders incarcerated for drunkenness in the Massachusetts Correction Institute of Bridgewater.

Like Pittman and Gordon, Blacker found the chronic drunkenness offenders had heterogeneous criminal backgrounds, firstly in the wide variations in number of arrests and secondly in wide variations in criminal experience. Using the terms Pure Drunk Group, Petty Crime Group, and Serious Crime Group, he classified the men in his sample into groups similar to those of Pittman and Gordon with the exception that Blacker considered assault as a serious offence. He found a much higher percentage in the Serious Crime Group: 59.2 per cent had committed one or more serious crimes. In spite of this high percentage he would not consider 'criminality' as a characteristic of most of them. Using more rigorous criteria to define seriousness (such as the drawing of a 6-month or more sentence for the offence) he arrived at a figure of 34.1 per cent serious offenders.

Blacker notes that the men who have been arrested for public drunkenness only are arrested less frequently on this charge than serious crime offenders, and that they start their drunkenness arrest careers at a later age. The implication he deduces from these observations is that the men in the Pure Drunk Group "have achieved a higher degree of socialization than the other two groups".

Neither of these two studies considers very deeply the relationship between crime or criminality and the revolving door way of life. It seems possible that by examining the specific types of crimes committed we may find a causal connection between the two.

From the findings in these studies we have formulated the following hypotheses concerning the chronic drunkenness offender and his involvement in crime, which we will test in this study using our sample group of C.D.O.s. At the same time we will compare our findings where possible with those of Pittman and Gordon and Edward Blacker, to determine any general characteristics of criminal careers of C.D.O.s. from 3

1. The majority of chronic drunkenness offenders have had a history of criminality prior to entering the revolving door pattern.

2. The type of criminal activity indulged in after becoming a chronic drunkenness offender will be of the petty acquisitive or assaultive type. This will be the pattern whether there was a prior history of criminality or not. In other words, the criminal behaviour of chronic offenders prior to their entering the revolving door is probably dependent on various economic, social and psychological factors in their backgrounds, but after they have become caught up in this way of life it is much more likely to be linked with the way of life, specific to it and a product of it. Common circumstances will bring about a convergence in the behaviour of individuals from a variety of backgrounds.

3. The C.D.O. with a prior criminal history will be arrested more frequently for public intoxication once he has started in the drunkenness arrest pattern than the C.D.O. who has no criminal history.

Chronic drunkenness offenders may have started out as heavy drinkers and alcoholics who then became involved with crime and criminals; or they started out as criminals who became heavy drinkers. In either case they probably have indulged in a great deal of heavy drinking before their arrest for drunkenness. Already many of them will have been alienated from society, including family and employers, as a result of or resulting in their alcoholism and criminality. Alienated, often unattached, with certain anti-social values held in common, they move in the high-risk environment of the criminal world where police vigilance is concentrated and where their vulnerability to arrest is enhanced by their heavy drinking.

4. Criminals who later become C.D.O.s. will have been arrested for public intoxication at an earlier age than C.D.O.s. who were not criminals.

This hypothesis, and the former one, are based on the observation that the criminal world is a high risk environment - in general terms of course, but specifically in this instance regarding the heavy drinking and arrest for drunkenness.

Blacker also states that he found serious crime offenders started their drunkenness arrest careers at an earlier age than the other two groups. (p. 79)

5. The serious criminal tends to have a rapidly diminishing rate of serious crime convictions once he has become involved in the revolving door pattern for drunkenness offences.

Blacker found that "As a group these chronic drunkenness offenders continue throughout their lives to get arrested for drunkenness, but they quit their more serious criminal adventures after a couple of tries." (p.71)

Pittman and Gordon recorded two distinct phases in the criminal career: an early one marked by arrests chiefly for non-intoxication offences, and a later one usually when the offender is over 40 years of age, where drunkenness arrests are the main ones. These authors tend to account for the change by suggesting that drunkenness gratifies the needs which were formerly gratified by criminal activities. Such activities, being unsuccessful (as evidenced by the number of arrests), are replaced by increased drinking and therefore an increased number of intoxication arrests.

We postulate a somewhat different change in the pattern from that recorded by Pittman and Gordon - and for different reasons. We would expect a change in the criminal pattern to occur at that period when the heavy drinker has been caught up in the revolving door with all its implications of continual binges, homelessness, Skid Row companions, and frequent jail sentences. His homelessness could lead to vagrancy charges; his binges and unemployment could lead to begging and stealing to get money for alcohol; and his drunkenness might well lead to violence and assaultive behaviour. Although the Skid Row sub-culture, of which the C.D.O. is almost invariably a member (see Chapter VII) provides opportunities for crime in the form of contacts and availability and lacks the usual family and other social restraints, the C.D.O. way of life is hardly compatible with planning or carrying out the serious and more complicated types of crime.

6. The pure drunks are more stable in terms of their background than those with a history of criminal convictions.

Blacker, as mentioned, found that the men in his Pure Drunk Group - those with convictions for public intoxication only - had achieved a higher degree of socialization than the other two groups.

If we find, as we hypothesized, that heavy drinking and drunkenness arrests begin at an earlier age in those C.D.O.s. with a criminal history, then it is unlikely that they will have had a long period of stable employment or of family life. C.D.O.s. without a criminal history, and consequently without this early start in being jailed and drinking heavily, will presumably have had a better chance for a longer period of steady work and for building up a family.

SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

Of the 285 men comprising the sample, the first 235 were selected at random from those offenders who were at the time incarcerated in the Don Jail for a minimum of 14 days, and who had had 3 or more convictions for drunkenness over the 12-month period immediately prior to the time of the study. It was discovered that this plan of selection tended to bias the sample in favour of those with a high rate of recidivism since the length of sentence was likely to be determined by the number of previous convictions. To remedy this imbalance the remaining 50 men were selected on the basis of a stratified sampling technique. Thus more 'low frequency' offenders would be included making the sample more representative of the total universe.

The number of convictions for drunkenness during the 12 months preceding entry of the men into the sample ranged from 3 to 12 with a mean of 6 convictions.

THE DATA: SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

Sources

The data were obtained from the following sources:

1. Interviews with the men.- Detailed case histories of 235 of the men were obtained through intensive individual interviews which took place in the Don Jail. The remaining 50 case histories were incomplete, either because the men paid their fines pro rata after being incarcerated or were transferred to other penal institutions before the interviews could be completed; or because they refused to take part in the interview.

2. The Metropolitan Toronto Police.- The Toronto Police supplied two sets of records. One, referred to here as the Metro Police Record, is a record of summary offences for which an individual is charged and convicted within the precincts of Metropolitan Toronto for 6 years prior to the study. (Earlier records were not available.) The other is the Criminal Record, which lists all known convictions for indictable offences (excepting juvenile convictions) and includes offences committed elsewhere in Canada.

3. The files of the Ontario Department of Reform Institutions (now the Department of Correctional Services).- With these we were able to check the validity of the records supplied by the Metropolitan Toronto Police. They also provided us with additional information on both drunkenness and other offences which occurred outside of Toronto.

4. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police files.- The R.C.M.P. files were searched for criminal records for all those men for whom no Metropolitan criminal record was found. The new records thus located were those of men who had been convicted of indictable offences elsewhere in Canada but not in Toronto. Some may have been missed because we lacked the fingerprint numbers necessary for easy and reliable identification of records.

The source and distribution of the data obtained for the men in the sample are shown in Table X-1. The Metropolitan Toronto Police provided records of summary convictions for the total sample and records of indictable convictions (ranging from 1 to 62 in number) for 61.8 per cent of the sample. The division into the two sub-groups of completed and uncompleted interviews does not alter the proportion of cases with criminal histories: 61.7 per cent of the completed, 62.0 per cent of the uncompleted sub-samples, and 61.8 per cent of the total having had criminal histories.

TABLE X-1

SOURCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF DATA

Source	Total Sample		Complete Subsample		Incomplete Subsample	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Interview	235	82.5	235	100.0	-	-
Summary Offences Record - Metro-Toronto Police	285	100.0	235	100.0	50	100.0
Indictable Offence Record - Metro Police or R.C.M.P.	176	61.8	145	61.7	31	62.0
Department of Reform Institutions	233	81.7	195	83.0	38	78.0
Number	285		235		50	

Limitations

The interview itself often provided an inadequate or inaccurate account of the actual history of convictions of the chronic drunkenness offender. The C.D.O.'s. mobility, the passage of time, the frequency of his short-term incarcerations, and the tendency in some cases to gloss over the criminal record, all helped to make the interview information somewhat unreliable, as the factual record of convictions indicated.

The police records, which provided the most comprehensive data on convictions incurred by the men, were not always complete. For instance, some chronic offenders used several aliases when charged with summary offences, since they believed that they would get shorter sentences if it appeared they had no previous convictions. Hence our eventual figures for summary offences are likely to be an under- rather than an over-estimation.

Not infrequently two men had the same names, with the result that one person had more or fewer convictions attributed to him than he was actually guilty of. Errors of this kind were eliminated as much as possible by thorough cross-checking with the records of the Department of Reform Institutions.

In the area of lifetime convictions for public intoxication, our information is incomplete because the Police Records listing convictions for summary offences (which includes public intoxication) committed in Metro-Toronto extends back only to 1954 (6 years prior to the time of the study). The Record therefore represents the lifetime drunkenness convictions only of those men whose chronic drunkenness pattern started after 1954 and who have been convicted only within Metropolitan Toronto.

Regarding indictable offences, there is less likelihood of error for any individual where there is fingerprint confirmation. But for men who had no record of indictable convictions in Toronto and hence no fingerprint numbers, we had to go by their names and verify by other biographical information. As many of the names were very common and an unknown number were aliases, it is likely that some criminal records were missed in the search. Consequently, the figures on the number of men with indictable offence records is probably an underestimate.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER STUDIES

The two studies in which the criminal histories of the chronic drunkenness offenders have been examined are Pittman and Gordon's Revolving Door (3) and Edward Blacker's The Incidence and Significance of Crime in the History of the Chronic Drunkenness Offender (2).

We have already described their samples, and in Table X-2, a comparison of their samples with the Toronto group shows that

the Toronto and Bridgewater groups have almost similar proportions in the criminal offenders category (61.8% and 59.2% respectively). These are considerably higher than the 37 per cent that Pittman and Gordon found in the Monroe County group.

TABLE X-2

COMPARISON OF OFFENCE CATEGORIES IN THREE STUDIES

Study	N	Pure Drunks	Petty Offenders	Criminal Offenders
		%	%	%
Pittman and Gordon[a]	187	31.0	32.0	37.2
Blacker[b]	120	10.0	30.8	59.2
Ontario[c]	285	18.2	20.0	61.8

[a] 187 male recidivists sentenced to the Monroe County Penitentiary, Rochester, N.Y., for public intoxication for a period of 30 days or more.

[b] Sample of drunkenness offenders incarcerated in the Massachusetts Correction Institution at Bridgewater.

[c] Chronic drunkenness offenders incarcerated in the Don Jail, Toronto. (This study.)

Since we cannot seriously postulate a natural proclivity of the Toronto and Bridgewater offenders to commit criminal offences any more than a natural tendency of the Monroe County offenders to 'stick more closely to the bottle', we must look for differences in methodological and ecological variables to explain the discrepancy.

One possible methodological source is the variation in the criteria used to establish chronicity of the drunkenness offender. In the Monroe County study only one previous conviction for drunkenness was required for inclusion in the sample; the men in the Toronto sample were required to have had 3 drunkenness convictions in the 12-month period preceding sample selection. Blacker maintains there is no doubt about the chronicity of drunkenness in his group because "...the judges do not send them to Bridgewater until they have piled up a number of offences and have served briefer sentences in the local jails or the county Houses of Correction". (p.68)

The Toronto and Bridgewater groups, then, are probably more alike in the extent of recidivism for drunkenness and in other characteristics of the chronic offender than either is to the Monroe County group. The latter includes men who have had only two convictions for drunkenness in their lifetime, a rather meagre basis on which to label them as chronic offenders.

It appears from both Blacker's study and the Toronto study that there is some correlation between the degree of recidivism and involvement in non-drunkenness offences. Blacker found (p.73) that the total number of drunkenness arrests decreases as we go from the Serious Crime Group to the Petty Crime Group to the Pure Drunk Group. That is, pure drunks tend to have fewer arrests for drunkenness than either petty or serious criminals.[1] We too found that whereas 26.2 per cent of the pure drunks in the Toronto sample had 5 fewer convictions for drunkenness, only 8.9 per cent of the total Toronto group and 6.7 per cent of Blacker's group had as few. Forty-one point nine per cent of Pittman and Gordon's sample fell into this low frequency category. It may be the high proportion of recidivists

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[1] See p.47 for discussion of this point.

with this low frequency of convictions which accounts for the relatively low distribution of offenders with criminal histories in Pittman and Gordon's sample.

Another methodological cause of the difference in proportions of criminal offenders in the three samples is the criterion used in each study to measure the seriousness of the offence. Whereas Pittman and Gordon took into account the alleged influence of alcohol in the perpetration of assault - presumably through disinhibition - and therefore classified it as a minor offence, Blacker's and the Toronto study categorized the seriousness of the offence in terms of the classification of their respective criminal codes, in which assault is considered a serious offence (a felony in the States and an indictable offence in Canada). The distribution of offenders in the two categories could thus be significantly dependent on this difference of offence classification. When Blacker used more rigorous criteria for defining serious criminals (namely, a jail sentence of 6 months or more for a serious offence, convictions for 3 serious offences even if the individual served sentences of less than 6 months, or the commission of a crime listed as serious by Powers and Witmer[2]) he found only 34.1 per cent could really be considered to have had serious criminal careers. Similarly, when we used as a criterion for serious offences a conviction for an indictable offence that drew a sentence of 6 months or longer, we found 34 per cent of the Toronto sample fell into the serious offences group.

Although such methodological variables may account for some of the differences of distribution noted between the 3 groups of drunkenness offenders, a more sociologically interesting variable is the size of the community from which the sample populations are drawn.

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[2] This was a list of crimes rated for seriousness by 8 police and probation officers. Powers, E. and Witmer, H., An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

It seems reasonable to hypothesize that large cities will have higher proportions of criminals among their chronic drunkenness offenders than will small communities. Firstly, large cities tend to have a larger number of criminals per capita[3]. Secondly, it seems likely that the more alienated C.D.O.s. from small communities are those who will find their way to large cities.

Among the many migrants to the big city are those whose deviant behaviour makes it difficult or impossible for them to remain in a small community or within the confines of their family. The big city offers not only anonymity, but at the same time more opportunity for mixing with others similarly oriented. The existence of a criminal underworld and a more extensive range of opportunities for crime tend to attract the criminally oriented to the big cities.

Of our completed sample of 235 C.D.O.s., the petty offenders and the criminal offenders were more often migrants to Toronto than the pure drunks (Table X-3).

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[3] "With the occasional exception of murder, larceny, and rape, crime rates tend consistently to increase with increasing density of population." Korn, Richard R., and McCorkle, Lloyd W., Criminology and Penology, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959), p.18.

TABLE X-3

MOBILITY PATTERN (AFTER ENTRY INTO REVOLVING DOOR PATTERN)

Pattern	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Criminal Offenders		Total Mobility Pattern	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Metro Toronto solely	17	40.5	14	29.2	30	20.7	61	26.0
Migrate to Metropolitan Toronto and stay there	11	26.2	21	43.7	40	27.6	72	30.6
Native to Toronto and transient	1	2.4	-	-	10	6.9	11	4.7
Migrant to Toronto then Toronto based transient	9	21.4	13	27.1	61	42.1	83	35.3
Not applicable	4	9.5	-	-	4	2.8	8	3.4
Total	42	100.0	48	100.0	145	100.0	235	100.0

Of the 65.9 per cent who were migrant to Toronto, almost two-thirds (65.2%) were criminal offenders, 21.9 per cent petty offenders, and 12.9 per cent pure drunks. Interestingly, only 21.2 per cent of the criminal offenders committed all their offences, summary and indictable, solely within Toronto - which might indicate that it is less the amount of opportunity for crime than the presence of a criminal milieu which is the important drawing card of the big city.

To test further the hypothesis that the larger the community the greater the incidence of criminal chronic drunkenness offenders, and its converse, the smaller the city the more pure drunks, we can use data from a study of the C.D.O. population of an Ontario

city of 47,000 inhabitants. Of a total of 108 individuals convicted in Small City for public intoxication during the same 12-month period as the Toronto study, only 22 (20.3%) had 3 or more convictions in that time. Fourteen of these (63.8%) fell in the pure drunk category and the remaining 8 (36.3%) had had convictions for indictable offences (Table X-4). Only one (4.5%) qualified as a serious criminal.

TABLE X-4

COMPARISON OF THE C.D.O.s. IN TORONTO AND SMALL CITY

City	N	Pure Drunks	Criminal Offenders
Toronto	285	18.2	65.8
Small City	108	63.8	36.3

The variation in distribution of pure drunks among C.D.O.s. in the 3 studies under comparison could be a direct function of the size of the metropolitan areas that supplied the populations from which the samples were drawn. Although Rochester, with its population of 300,000 is not a small city, it is smaller than Toronto (population one and three-quarter million), and Boston (population two and a half million). Therefore we would expect the pure drunk population of Rochester to be larger than that of Toronto which in turn would be larger than that of Boston and this is, in fact, the case with 31, 18.2 and 10 per cent pure drunks respectively (Table X-2).

The first part of our hypothesis is not entirely borne out by our figures, since Toronto has a slightly higher incidence of criminal offenders than the Bridgewater group (61.8% to 59.2%), although these are both expectedly higher than the Monroe County group (37.2%). However, it would appear that methodological variables might account for this. As we point out below, the criminal records of the Bridgewater group cover only information on arrests in the State of Massachusetts, and therefore, unlike

those in the Ontario study, not offenders whose serious offences have been confined to other jurisdictions.

CRIMINAL CAREER PATTERN

In this section we examine the types of crime of which the chronic drunkenness offenders have been convicted during their lifetimes, and their pattern of criminality once they are caught up in the revolving door.

It is our contention that serious criminality is incompatible with the life of a chronic drunkenness offender even though he is likely to be living on Skid Row and mixing with other criminals. The 'spree' type of drinking which most C.D.O.s. indulge in does not put them into condition for either the extensive planning or the careful execution of the more 'difficult' or complicated crimes, such as house-breaking or bank robbery. Moreover, other criminals are not likely to seek out as accomplices persons as conspicuous, in the sense of being known to or recognizable by the police, as chronic drunkenness offenders, or persons who because of their condition are likely to fumble a job.

For these reasons we would expect the serious criminals, once they have become involved in the revolving door pattern, to have a rapidly diminishing rate of serious crime convictions.

At the same time, we would expect their criminal behaviour after becoming C.D.O.s. to be of the petty acquisitive type, such as shoplifting, which takes little planning, or the assaultive type, which might be a consequence of their drinking behaviour. These types of crime might be expected to increase.

To group into one category all those chronic drunkenness offenders who have committed indictable offences, regardless of the number or the length of the sentences received, would give an inaccurate impression of the criminal habits and histories of the C.D.O. We decided to divide the criminal group into two sub-groupings which we termed the 'minor criminals' and the 'serious criminals' on the basis of the number of indictable

convictions and the length of sentence received. The minor criminals are those who have committed up to 8 indictable offences for each of which they received sentences of less than two years; the serious criminals are those with either more than 8 indictable offences on their record, or at least one penitentiary term (two years or more). Of the 176 men in the criminal group, 38 or 13.3 per cent fall in this serious criminal category. Table X-5 shows the frequency of indictable offences for our sample.

TABLE X-5

TOTAL NUMBER OF LIFETIME INDICTABLE OFFENCES

Frequency of Offences	N	%
None	110	38.6
1 - 2	32	11.2
3 - 6	71	24.9
7 - 10	30	10.5
11 - 14	13	4.6
15 - 18	10	3.5
19 - 26	12	4.2
27 - 34	1	.4
35 - 50	1	.4
Over 50	5	1.8
Total	285	100.1

The offences for which the men in our sample have been convicted cover a wide range of criminal acts (Table X-6). A notable exception is homicide for which not one chronic drunkenness offender in the group has been convicted. Convictions of robbery, sex offences, and breaches of the Opium and Narcotics Act, are each found in less than 10 per cent of the total

sample, with the highest proportions not unexpectedly in the serious criminal group.

TABLE X-6

LIFETIME DISTRIBUTION OF CONVICTIONS FOR OFFENCES OTHER THAN PUBLIC INTOXICATION

Nature of Offence	Total Sample N=285		Petty Offenders N=57	Minor Criminals N=138	Serious Criminals N=38
	No.of Offend.	%	%	%	%
Offences related to chronic drunkenness[a]	158	55.4	66.7	60.9	91.9
Theft	147	51.6	1.8	72.5	94.7
Assault	80	28.1	1.8	43.5	50.0
Break and enter	74	26.0	-	34.8	68.4
Theft of auto	45	15.8	-	23.2	34.2
Damage to property	42	14.7	7.0	17.4	36.8
Fraud and related offences	41	14.4	-	19.6	36.8
Traffic	37	13.0	19.3	13.8	18.4
Robbery	20	7.0	-	7.2	21.1
Sex	16	5.6	1.8	6.5	15.8
Drugs	9	3.2	-	0.7	21.1
Other	69	24.2	8.8	30.4	57.9

[a] Such as vagrancy, begging, trespass, disorderly conduct.

At the other end of the scale are those offences under one grouping that are very closely related to the way of life of the chronic drunk, plus theft - both of which are found among the convictions of slightly more than half the persons in our sample. Although the records do not indicate the degree of seriousness of the theft offences, from the length of sentence and alternative fine imposed we can be fairly sure that many of the offences represent shoplifting and minor thefts of articles and money. Almost all (94.7%) of the serious criminals, and nearly three-quarters (72.5%) of the minor criminals, have been convicted of theft. Of the total number of all non-drunkenness offences committed by these men, theft comprises 31 per cent and offences related to chronic drunkenness 31.1 per cent (Table X-7) That is, these two groups of offences encompass just under two-thirds of all criminal offences committed by this group of C.D.O.s.

TABLE X-7

TOTAL LIFETIME CONVICTIONS FOR NON-B.L.C.A. OFFENCES OF 285 C.D.O.s. BY OFFENCE CATEGORY

Offence Category	Convictions	Percentage of all Convictions
Offences related to chronic drunkenness	658	31.1
Theft	656	31.0
Assault	190	9.0
Break and enter	158	7.5
Fraud and related offences	73	3.5
Theft of auto	70	3.3
Traffic	70	3.3
Damage to property	54	2.6
Sex offences	33	1.6
Robbery	24	1.1
Drugs	23	1.1
Other offences	104	4.9
Total convictions	2.113	100.0

We attempted to compare the distribution of convictions of the Ontario group with those of Blacker and of Pittman and Gordon (Table X-8).

TABLE X-8

A COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CERTAIN OFFENCES AMONG C.D.O.s. IN THREE STUDIES

Offence	Percentage of All Offenders		
	Ontario	Blacker	Pittman and Gordon
Theft	51.6	39.2	23.5
Break and enter	26.0	16.7	12.8
Robbery	7.0	5.8	5.9
Drugs	3.2	-	3.2
Vagrancy	55.4	21.7	35.5
Theft of auto	15.8	-	3.8

The table shows considerable discrepancy among the groups. Theft, which ranks so high in the Ontario sample is only 23.5 per cent in Pittman and Gordon's; vagrancy, which is considered to be closely linked to chronic drunkenness is only 35.5 per cent of all Pittman and Gordon's offenders, 21.7 per cent of Blacker's, but 55.4 per cent of the Ontario group. Only 3.8 per cent of Pittman and Gordon's sample were convicted of auto theft; Blacker does not list it as an offence; but the Ontario group had 15.8 per cent of its sample convicted of this offence.

It is possible that our group of chronic drunkenness offenders does differ considerably from other C.D.O.s. in other areas, as this comparison indicates. The Ontario group of C.D.O.s. are more criminal than either of the other two groups. Nevertheless, it is much more likely that the differences are mainly due to factors that have nothing to do with the men themselves. The criminal records of the Bridgewater (Blacker's) group, as mentioned above, do not include arrest data from other states for example. and Pittman and Gordon do not mention whether their records are complete in this sense. The Ontario records include indictable offences committed by the men anywhere in Canada during their

adult lives, although as mentioned earlier, these records may be incomplete.

The very noticeable difference in vagrancy convictions among the three groups may be partly caused by a difference in police vigilance. In some cities the men tend to be left alone as long as they stay within certain areas; the Toronto police have a reputation for 'keeping the streets clean'. One C.D.O. expressed it to the interviewer this way:

> Just hang around Skid Row and if they get to know you, you've had it, they'll throw you in too.

Under Canadian law (which applies in Ontario) vagrancy covers both trespassing and begging (Vag. a and Vag. b, sec.164, Ch. 51, Revised Statutes of Canada, Criminal Code, 1955), but Pittman and Gordon list trespassing and begging under miscellaneous charges. (3,p.46)

Thus unfortunately the number of variables precludes any very useful generalizations about the type and extent of specific crimes committed by chronic drunkenness offenders. However, we can see that crimes of theft, breaking and entering, and vagrancy, rank high in all three groups; while robbery and offences connected with drugs rank low in the scale of crimes committed by these men.

Types of Crime

Theft.- Theft occupies the first place in the rank order of lifetime convictions for indictable offences committed by the men in our sample. One hundred and forty-seven (51.6%) have been convicted a total of 656 times for theft (Tables X-6 and X-7). Almost all (94.7%) of the serious criminal group have been guilty of this offence. Of the total criminal group (n = 176) 62.5 per cent had 5 or fewer convictions; 9.7 per cent had over 10 convictions each.

Theft offences increase with the length of time the individual has been in the C.D.O. way of life. They are usually of a very minor nature, bringing only short prison sentences (i.e. under 6 months). Typically, the chronic drunkenness offender convicted of theft is trying to raise the price of a bottle.

Assault.- Ralph Banay in his article "Alcoholism and Crime" (1) claims that assault is the leading offence of the inebriate criminal.

> Most significant with the alcoholic criminal, in contrast with the general offender, is the higher incidence of assault....The alcoholic group is characterized by more frequent violence....(p.715)

and

> The data....would seem to suggest.... that the primary intemperate individual is drawn into crime not only by his need for money and for money as a substitute for the wages that his drinking prevents him from earning, but also by the increased irritability, irascibility and pugnacity of the protracted alcoholic state, together with "the illusory feeling of increased vitality" and relaxed inhibition that comes with intoxication.

Such a picture may well typify that generally held of the chronic drunkenness offender. Pittman and Gordon also state that assault is an offence "closely associated with problems of chronic inebriation".

Banay's sample of Sing Sing inmates who, although imprisoned on criminal charges were considered to be alcoholics first ('primary intemperates')is not a comparable group with our C.D.O. group or those of Blacker or Pittman and Gordon since:

> All those offenders were eliminated from the intemperate group whose alcoholism:
>
> 1. Appeared long after persistent commission of crimes,
> 2. Appeared as a sequence to an immoral life, or just another symptom of a general dissolute, restless and unrestrained existence. (1, p.687)

This highly selected group of inebriates would probably exclude a large number of our chronic drunkenness offenders.

Although assault ranks second in lifetime convictions for indictable offences in terms of frequency and distribution among the offenders, totalling 190 convictions among 80 offenders (28.1% of the sample), it comprises only 9.0 per cent of the total number of non-drunkenness offences. Unlike the case with theft, those who were convicted of assault had very few convictions: 70 per cent had up to two assault convictions; only 8.5 per cent had more than 5.

Insofar as many of the charges are for assaulting the arresting policeman (for instance, one C.D.O. described his first arrest: "I was hitting a policeman with a beer bottle at a bootlegger's"), it would bear out Pittman and Gordon's thesis that assault is frequently related to chronic inebriation. However, Banay's description of pugnacity, which may well fit the intoxicated person or the alcoholic, does not describe the Toronto chronic drunkenness offenders. We know from observation that the latter tend to avoid situations which might produce

conflict and shun those individuals with reputations of being aggressive and quarrelsome.

Moreover, when we checked the assault offences for age at time of commission, we found they tended to cluster very heavily in the early years (up to 35) of the Toronto C.D.O.s., declining rapidly with advanced years and with integration into Skid Row. On the whole it would appear that assaultive behaviour is more characteristic of the heavy drinking, pre-C.D.O. stage than of the chronic inebriation and repeated jailing stage.

Break and Enter.- This offence, which ranks third in the list of lifetime indictable offences committed by our sample of chronic drunkenness offenders, is one which tends to be associated with the youthful offender in our group (approximately 60% of the break and enter offences were committed by men under 30) as well as in the general population[4]. We find that the frequency of convictions decreases once the man becomes a C.D.O. This is not surprising since the full-fledged C.D.O. is not geared to the careful planning necessary for such a crime. When it does occur, it is usually to obtain alcohol, directly or indirectly.

Seventy-four offenders (26%) were convicted of this offence, 158 times, averaging two convictions each, although the number ranged from 1 to 10 convictions. Only 9 of the men had more than 5 convictions for breaking and entering.

Robbery.- The more serious crime of robbery, which requires to an even greater extent the criminal's know-how, has been committed by 7 per cent of the men. This too declines in frequency with integration into the C.D.O. pattern.

[4] Of 6,813 breaking and entering offences committed in 1961 in Canada, 4,774 were carried out by persons 15-24 years of age, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of Criminal and Other Offences. p.40.

Theft of Auto.- This also tends to be a youthful crime. Well over two-thirds of the auto offences were committed by the men in our sample before they were 30.

Sex.- Sexual offences have also been committed by a very small (5.6%) percentage of the chronic drunkenness offenders with a total of 33 offences. Over half of these sexual convictions were incurred by men 35 years or younger.

Fraud.- Fraud (and related offences which include forgery) totalled 73 offences, committed by 41 (14.4%) offenders. This is seldom fraud on the grand scale, which is much more characteristic of the middle and upper classes. A typical fraud offence committed by one of the C.D.O.s. in our group would be obtaining a meal without having the money to pay for it, or getting accommodation by writing a cheque without the money to cover it.

These offences tend to be spread out fairly evenly among all ages up to 45.

Drugs.- Offences involving narcotics rank lowest in the scale of lifetime convictions. Only 9 men (3.2%) committed the total of 23 offences, most of which were for illegal possession of drugs. Three of the 9 had 4 or more convictions each. All 9 men were at one time drug addicts who switched from drugs to alcohol. They are clear examples of offenders who only became chronic drunks after their serious criminal convictions ceased (see Appendix I: Case History #1).

Offences Related to Chronic Drunkenness.- All those non-indictable offences, excepting public intoxication, which are either directly connected with drinking and drunkenness (such as drinking in an illegal place, having an open bottle) or are connected with the way of life of the chronic drunkenness offender (such as vagrancy, disorderly conduct) have been grouped together under this one heading. These account for 31 per cent of all offences other than public intoxication of which this group of chronic drunkenness offenders have been convicted. Almost all

(91.9%) in the serious criminal group have been convicted of one or more of these offences, as compared to 66.7 per cent of the petty offender group.

Pittman and Gordon feel that these related offences tend to mask charges and convictions for public intoxication. They suggest that the total number of convictions would increase "if each bout with alcohol were accurately recorded as public intoxication instead of disorderly conduct or vagrancy". (p.45) However, evidence gleaned from the police and from the C.D.O.s. themselves suggests just the opposite: that charges of public intoxication frequently mask charges for related offences.

> Sometimes I think I been arrested when I shouldn't've been. About 4 months ago three of us just opened a bottle. They grabbed us and charged us with drunk. Hadn't had a drink yet.

Complications arising from the charge of having an open bottle, for example, are considerable, since the contents of the bottle must be sent to the laboratory for analysis and the case taken to court at a later date (Sec.66-1, L.C.A.-R.S.O. 1950). The following quotation is not untypical:

> Same if you're caught with a bottle. You're never charged with the bottle, they throw it out. They reduce it to 'consuming' or 'having it illegally'. I been arrested with a bottle, but they just throw the bottle away or pour it out. With the likes of us we'd have to wait a week in jail if they were going to analyze it.

In comparison, the ease and rapidity of conviction at Court 'G' following the charge of public intoxication (see Chapter V), tend to induce the arresting officer to make the less complex charge. That this is the case is indicated in Table X-9, where we see that only one member of our sample was convicted of having an open bottle over a 6-year period in Metropolitan Toronto. The charge of drinking non-beverage alcohol is similarly complicated and the number of cases is only 15. Table X-9 breaks down the offences related to chronic drunkenness and shows the distribution over the past 6 years among the 4 sub-groupings of offenders[5]. Drinking in an illegal place (Sec.32-1,L.C.A.) ranks highest among the liquor offences by both number of offenders (137) and number of convictions (265).

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[5] The record of convictions for summary offences is reliable only for the period beginning 5 years prior to commencement of the study.

TABLE X-9

DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENCES RELATED TO CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS (OTHER THAN PUBLIC INTOXICATION) DURING THE SIX YEARS PRECEDING THE SAMPLE SELECTION

Related Offences	Total No. of Cases	Total No. of Convictions	Total Sample %	Pure Drunks %	Petty Offenders %	Minor Criminals %	Serious Criminals %
Drinking in an illegal place	137	265	48.1	25.0	54.4	51.4	57.9
Drinking non-beverage alcohol	15	16	5.3	1.9	3.5	6.5	7.9
"Bootlegging"	3	3	1.0	-	-	-	5.3
Permitting drunkenness	6	7	2.1	1.9	-	3.6	-
Having an open bottle	1	2	0.3	-	1.7	-	-
Other L.C.A. offences	59	85	20.7	15.4	17.5	23.9	21.0
Vagrancy "A" (trespassing)	118	243	41.4	-	56.1	41.6	68.4
Vagrancy "B" (begging)	72	144	25.3	-	19.3	30.6	52.6

Although the men sometimes drink beer in a hotel, the beverage most frequently consumed is wine (See Chapter XI), which is bought by the bottle at a wine store. It can only be consumed legitimately in a private room but since many of the men usually have no room of their own, and are not allowed to drink in the flophouses or Missions, of necessity they must drink in illegal places such as alleyways, restaurant lavatories or hallways. The more integrated into Skid Row they are, the less likely they are to have their own room, or a friend with his own room, and the more they are going to drink in illegal places.

The vagrancy charges of trespassing and begging also reflect the degree of integration into Skid Row. The homelessness, joblessness and consequent lack of money, together with a marked aversion of many of the men to both flophouses and hostels (See Chapter VII), make them likely to trespass on vacant lots, the railway, and in empty houses or hallways, either to sleep or drink or to shelter from the weather.

Charges of begging probably represent an even greater degree of integration into Skid Row. Although begging presents an alternative to theft as an illegal and seemingly easier means of obtaining money, it is one much less frequently used and even less frequently admitted to. The men seem to feel there is a stigma attached to it, that it represents the ultimate in loss of self respect. Only two admitted unreservedly to doing so when asked the question "Do you panhandle or bum money?"

Absolutely. It's my very livelihood.

I'm a professional panhandler.

The second speaker is 72 years of age with 35 drunkenness arrests and 12 other charges including three for vagrancy. The first speaker is 37 with only 8 breaches of the Liquor Control Act on his record. This man's right leg is amputated above the knee

which makes begging a likely alternative for him to stealing but does not necessarily indicate lengthy integration into Skid Row.

Many insist they do not beg but only borrow from friends; most who admit to begging say they need to be drunk to do it. The following answers are illustrative:

> When I bum it's always off friends - I wouldn't bum off strangers.
>
> I'll do it when I'm half drunk. I can't do it when I'm sober.
>
> That's one thing I can't do.
>
> No, I don't have the brass for that. I hate to ask anybody even for a cigarette.
>
> Never done it in my life. I could be short a car ticket and I'd walk home rather than ask someone. That's how much pride I've got.

The men who expressed such aversion to begging in the last three quotations have all had more than one conviction for theft.

One man appeared more realistic when he replied, "Never had to do that - yet."

The pure drunks have had no vagrancy charges; the serious criminals had the greatest number proportionately of the other three groups. This indicates to us that the pure drunks are the least integrated into Skid Row of all offender groups and the serious criminals the most deeply involved. This is a proposition we will test when we examine the length of time the men have spent in the revolving door pattern.

Sentences

The length of sentence which a person receives generally indicates the type of institution in which he will be incarcerated and the seriousness of the offence for which he has been committed. When we examine the sentences which the chronic drunkenness offenders have received for all offences other than liquor offences, we see that only 34 men have done time in the penitentiary (sentences of 2 years or over) and of these only 5 have been given sentences of 5 years or more. The prison experience of the remaining 135 men who have never served sentences of two years or more (Table X-10), has been confined to jails and reformatories.

TABLE X-10

DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCES FOR OFFENCES OTHER THAN LIQUOR OFFENCES

Length of Sentence	No.of cases	Total Sample N=285 %	Criminal Group N=176 %	Serious Criminal Group N=38 %
3 months to 2 years less one day	135	47.4	76.7	97.4
2 years to 5 years less one day	29	10.2	16.5	68.5
5 years and over	5	1.8	2.3	10.5

Table X-11 shows the frequency of the sentences received and the percentage within the three offender groups. Of the petty offenders, 61.4 per cent have had one to two sentences of less than 3 months, whereas only 18.4 per cent of the serious criminals have had that low a frequency for such short-term incarcerations. The serious criminals, as one might expect, have a much higher frequency of longer sentences.

The length of sentences does not indicate the actual time spent in prison. Some offences carry a fine as an alternative to imprisonment; frequently a prisoner's sentence will be reduced for good behaviour. When we attempted to estimate the actual amount

of time which the C.D.O.s. have spent in prison (on other than liquor counts) these two factors made an estimate impossible since neither the criminal nor police records indicated whether the C.D.O. paid the fine or went to jail, and we have no way of knowing when the sentences were reduced, or by how much, for good behaviour.

TABLE X-11

FREQUENCY OF DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCES BY OFFENDER SUB-GROUPINGS

Frequency of Sentences	Petty Offenders N = 57 %	Minor Crims. N = 138 %	Serious Crims N = 38 %
Less than 3 Months			
1-2 sentences	61.4	36.2	18.4
3-5 "	5.3	35.5	23.7
6-10 "	7.0	21.8	57.9
Not applicable	26.3	6.5	0.0
3 Months to 2 Years less 1 day			
1-2 sentences	10.5	44.2	7.9
3-5 "	0.0	17.4	34.2
6-10 "	0.0	5.1	55.3
Not applicable	89.5	33.3	2.6
2 Years to 5 Years less 1 day			
1-2 sentences	0.0	2.2	52.6
3-4 "	0.0	0.0	15.8
Not applicable	100.0	97.8	31.6
5 Years and Over			
1 sentence	0.0	0.0	13.2
None	100.0	100.0	86.8

The information in Table X-12 represents the time the men would have spent in penal institutions had they served the full sentences imposed for all convictions other than liquor offences.

TABLE X-12

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL SENTENCED TIME FOR NON-B.L.C.A. OFFENCES AMONG OFFENDER GROUPS

Total Time of Sentence	No. of Cases	Total Sample %	Petty Offenders %	Minor Criminals %	Serious Criminals %
Less than 1 year	119	41.8	75.4	54.6	-
1-2 years	32	11.2	-	23.2	-
2-3 "	16	5.6	-	11.6	-
3-5 "	20	7.0	-	9.4	18.4
5-7 "	9	3.2	-	-	18.4
7-10 "	12	4.2	-	-	31.6
10-15 "	7	2.5	-	-	15.8
15-20 "	4	1.4	-	-	10.5
21-25 "	1	.3	-	-	2.6
25-35 "	-	-	-	-	-
35 years and over	1	.3	-	-	2.6
No recorded Sentences	64	22.4	24.6	.7	-
Total	285	100.1	100.0	100.2	99.9

All the serious criminals have had at least 3 years of sentenced imprisonment, 63.1% having over 7 years in total sentences. More than half the minor criminals have had a total sentenced time of under one year, and all a total under 5 years.

To see if a change of sentencing has occurred over time, we examined the sentences which the men received in the 6 years prior to this study. One hundred and seventy-two (60.3%) had received sentences for drunkenness, B.L.C.A., and related offences only, during that time. Ninety-one men (32%) had received 'short bits' only; that is, sentences under 6 months, for indictable offences. Fourteen (5%) received sentences up to two years for indictable offences (as compared to 135 or 47.4% of the men over their lifetimes) and 8 (2.8%) had sentences of two years or more (compared to 34 or 11.6% over their lifetimes). Most of the indictable offences during this time were theft charges.

Even though some of the men are recent entrants to the C.D.O. way of life the overall number of sentences and seriousness of crimes committed in the past 6 years is much less than in the total life pattern. Obviously fewer serious crimes warranting longer sentences were committed during that time.

Phases in the Chronic Drunkenness Career

We have stated the proposition that the majority of chronic drunkenness offenders have had a history of criminality prior to entering the revolving door pattern. At what point do we say a man has entered upon this pattern? And by what standard do we suppose him to have ended his criminal career?

We arbitrarily decided that the point of entry could be considered the moment he first set foot in the revolving door - that is, at his first arrest for drunkenness. This is a highly artificial date since the person may not have had another drunkenness arrest until some years later and therefore can hardly be considered to have entered on the revolving door way of life. Also, it is likely to be somewhat inaccurate as we had to rely on interview data (that is, on the men's memories). Nevertheless, necessity forced the issue and on examining the records we found there is only occasionally a lengthy gap between the first and second arrest for drunkenness.

For the termination point of his criminal career we used the same criterion used by Blacker (2): a C.D.O. was considered to have become criminally inactive if his last conviction for an indictable offence occurred 5 years or more prior to the time he was selected for this sample.

We saw that most crimes commenced early in the careers of the chronic drunkenness offenders, some continued and some even increased in later years. As a rule, although one usually began before the other, the two 'careers' (that is, criminal and drunkenness) overlapped for a period of time (Table X-13).

TABLE X-13

CRIMINAL CAREER RELATIVE TO CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS

Pattern	No. of Cases	%
Two clearly defined patterns: criminal offences first; C.D.[a] beginning when criminal has ceased	36	20.5
Career beginning with criminal offences then moving to criminal and C.D. pattern - both continuing	52	29.7
C.D. and criminal patterns beginning at the same time - both continuing	7	4.0
C.D. and criminal beginning at the same time - C.D. only continuing	7	4.0
C.D. moving to criminal and C.D. - both continuing	44	25.1
C.D. moving to criminal and C.D. - C.D. only continuing	29	16.6
Total	175	99.9

[a] Chronic drunkenness

Only 36 (20.5%) showed a clear-cut two-phase career where the men were criminals first and became chronic drunks after their criminality ceased. Generally these either were men who had committed only one indictable offence early in their careers or they were drug addicts.

Seventy-three of the men (41.7%) started their careers as chronic drunks, then began to engage in crime as well. Twenty-nine of these have reverted to chronic drunkenness only.

Fifty-two began with a criminal career which they have maintained along with their chronic drunkenness pattern.

Our hypothesis that the majority of chronic drunkenness offenders had a history of serious criminality prior to entering the revolving door has been disproved: about 30 per cent started as criminals. Of all the C.D.O.s. with criminal careers, half began them before commencing the revolving door way of life. To be sure, those with the most serious crimes which have brought them penitentiary terms tended to have prior criminal careers: 28 who served penitentiary sentences were among the 88 whose criminal careers commenced prior to their becoming C.D.O.s. Only 1 of the 86 whose criminal careers commenced simultaneously with or subsequent to repeated drunkenness convictions has served a penitentiary sentence.

As the person enters that way of life which we call the revolving door, that is, of frequent arrests and incarcerations for drunkenness, his pattern of criminality changes. Those who already had a criminal career tend no longer to indulge in serious crimes which carry long sentences. Most of their convictions are now for fraud or theft, usually of a minor nature. Those C.D.O.s. who commenced a criminal career after they were already involved in the drunkenness-jailing pattern tend to be convicted on similarly petty charges of fraud and theft. Both of these offences at this stage in their careers are undertaken, as a rule, to obtain liquor or, secondarily, food and accommodation.

The revolving door way of life has changed the patterns of the criminals and the non-criminals, modifying the seriousness of the crimes of the former, embarking the latter on a criminal career, but bringing both to a common form of similar and petty criminality.

We must also remember that 111 C.D.O.s. have had no convictions for indictable offences at any time and 52 of these have been arrested for drunkenness and related charges only. If, as we suspect, these men are more recent entrants to the C.D.O. population, then we may expect that they too will eventually have charges brought against them for minor theft and fraud.

Moreover, as the 52 pure drunks become more integrated into the Skid Row way of life, it is reasonable to suppose that they will also begin to be picked up on vagrancy charges - they will become petty offenders.

Our second hypothesis, that the criminal activities engaged in once the person has become a chronic drunkenness offender are of a petty acquisitive or assaultive type is substantiated in the first part. Most of the indictable convictions incurred over the past 6 years were for theft; and theft charges, but with shorter sentences indicating the petty nature of the offences, have increased. Assault offences, on the other hand, have not increased and were mostly incurred by the men before they were 35, which means they had not long been involved in the revolving door (see section below on Age at Entry into the Revolving Door).

AGE, CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS, AND CRIMINALITY

Is there a variation in the ages at which the men in the different offender groups entered the C.D.O. population? How long have they been in the revolving door?

We have stated above that we suspect the pure drunks and the petty offenders to have entered it more recently. It is also reasonable to suppose that they entered at a later age. The heavy drinker who moves in the criminal world is much more vulnerable to arrest for drunkenness than the heavy drinker who is not a criminal. As a criminal who has been in prison or the penitentiary he is very likely to be alienated from his family. His drinking may therefore be done less frequently in his home, which inevitably means a greater likelihood of arrest for public drunkenness. As a criminal he may be known to the police who would be more likely to arrest him than someone whose criminal behaviour was not suspect.

This differential risk we test in the following hypotheses, using the evidence available from the men in our sample.

1. Chronic drunkenness offenders who had criminal careers prior to becoming C.D.O.s. will have been first arrested for drunkenness at an earlier age than C.D.O.s. who were not criminals.

2. A C.D.O. with a criminal history will be arrested more frequently for public intoxication once he has started in the C.D.O. pattern than will a C.D.O. with no criminal history.

Present Age

An examination of the men's present age (i.e. at time of entry into the sample) shows that over half the men (52.5%) fall between the ages of 41 and 55, with a mean of 46.3. The age range is spread over 58 years, the youngest man being 22 and the oldest 78. These figures correspond closely to those of Blacker

and Pittman and Gordon. Pittman and Gordon's sample of chronic drunkenness offenders had a mean age of 47.7 years with 54.5 per cent of the sample falling within the range of 40 to 55 years. Blacker's sample had the highest mean age of the three groups with 48.5 years.

There seems little reason to expect a significant difference in ages among the various offender groups at any given point in time - such as the commencement of this study - and we found none (Table X-14). The mean ages for the offender groups are: Pure Drunks, 47; Petty Offenders, 46; Minor Criminals, 45; and Serious Criminals, 50.

The Toronto group of chronic drunkenness offenders, then, like the other two groups under comparison, contains a disproportionate number of older men compared to the general Canadian population. Of the total male population in Canada during 1961, only 16.4 per cent fell in the age range of 40 to 54 years.[6]

Age at First Arrest for Drunkenness

We have already stated that we expect to find a difference among the offender groups in the age at which they entered the revolving door - that is, at the time of their first arrest for public drunkenness. We have the data only for the complete sub-sample of 235.

The mean ages for the 4 offender groups are: Pure Drunks, 34; Petty Offenders, 34; Minor Criminals, 28; Serious Criminals, 29; with an overall mean age of 30. Table X-15 shows a steadily increasing concentration of first drunkenness arrests in the lower age frequencies moving from Pure Drunks to Serious Criminals. Whereas 50 per cent of the Pure Drunks were first arrested for intoxication between the ages of 31-40, 50 per cent of the Serious Criminals were first arrested by the age of 25.

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[6] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961.

TABLE X-14

THE PRESENT AGE OF THE CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER

Age Group	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals		Total Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
21-25	-	-	-	-	3	2.2	-	-	3	1.1
26-30	2	3.9	3	5.3	8	5.8	-	-	13	4.6
31-35	4	7.7	4	7.0	18	13.0	2	5.3	28	9.8
36-40	9	17.3	7	12.3	18	13.0	9	23.7	43	15.1
41-45	10	19.2	14	24.6	24	17.4	3	7.9	51	17.9
46-50	9	17.3	12	21.1	22	15.9	5	13.2	48	16.8
51-55	7	13.5	9	15.8	27	19.6	7	18.4	50	17.5
56-60	3	5.8	3	5.3	9	6.5	5	13.2	20	7.0
61-65	6	11.5	5	8.8	5	3.6	3	7.9	19	6.7
66-70	2	3.9	-	-	3	2.2	1	2.6	6	2.1
Over 70	-	-	-	-	1	.7	3	7.9	4	1.4
Total	52	100.1	57	100.2	138	99.9	38	100.1	285	100.0

TABLE X-15

AGE OF OFFENDER GROUPS AT FIRST ARREST FOR DRUNKENNESS

Age Group	Complete Sample		Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 21	33	11.6	3	7.1	4	8.3	21	18.9	5	14.7
21-25	50	17.5	3	7.1	4	8.3	31	27.9	12	35.3
26-30	34	11.9	6	14.3	9	8.8	15	13.5	4	11.8
31-35	33	11.6	10	23.8	6	2.5	13	11.7	4	11.8
36-40	25	8.8	7	16.7	6	2.5	10	9.0	2	5.9
41-45	13	4.6	-	-	7	4.6	6	5.4	-	-
46-50	6	6.7	1	2.4	2	4.2	1	.9	2	5.9
51-55	4	1.4	1	2.4	-	-	1	.9	2	5.9
56-60	1	.4	1	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
61-65	2	.7	2	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Over 65	2	.7	-	-	-	-	2	1.8	-	-
N.A.	32	11.2	8	19.1	10	20.8	11	9.9	3	8.8
Total	235		42		48		111		34	

When we take only those 203 men for whom we have the age of first drunkenness arrest and collapse the age categories into two groups - 25 years and under and over 25 - the shift is easily observable (Table X-16).

TABLE X-16

AGE (COLLAPSED) AT FIRST ARREST FOR DRUNKENNESS OF OFFENDER GROUPS

Age Group	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
25 and under	6	18	8	21	52	52	17	55	88
Over 25	28	82	30	79	48	48	14	45	120
Total	34		38		100		31		203

Although these figures indicate that C.D.O.s. who are or have been criminals tend to have been arrested for drunkenness at an earlier age than non-criminals, they do not show whether the criminal careers began prior to the drunkenness arrest. Table X-17, using 5-year age intervals, shows which came first. Of the 176 C.D.O.s. convicted of indictable offences, 43 (24.4%) were arrested for drunkenness before their criminal arrest; 57 (32.3%) were first arrested for an indictable offence, and 29 (16.5%) were arrested for both offences within a 5-year period. For the remaining 47 we do not have the interview data on age at first arrest for drunkenness. Thus approximately one-quarter of the criminals commenced their careers as drunkenness offenders only.

Interestingly enough, when we examine the age at which the various offender groups began heavy drinking, we find that the mean ages are in inverse proportion to those of first arrest for drunkenness. That is, the mean age for onset of heavy drinking for the Serious Criminals is 30.4 (Table X-18) and the mean age for first drunkenness arrest is 29; whereas the Pure Drunks began to drink heavily at an average age of 26.9 years but were not arrested for drunkenness on the average until they were 34. This is a further indication of the increased vulnerability to arrest for drunkenness of the heavy drinker who indulges in criminal activities.

TABLE X-17

AGE AT FIRST ARREST FOR DRUNKENNESS AND INDICTABLE OFFENCE

Age at First Drunkenness Arrest	Age at First Indictable Offence											
	Under 21	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	60+	None	Total
Under 21	10	9	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	7	33
21-25	20	6	6	5	1	2	1	1	-	-	7	49
26-30	6	2	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	15	33
31-35	5	3	3	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	16	33
36-40	4	-	3	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	14	25
41-45	2	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	7	13
46-50	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	7
51-55	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
56-60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
61-65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
66+	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
N.A.	8	11	10	7	8	2	1	-	-	-	36	83
Total	59	32	33	21	16	9	3	1	2	-	109	285

TABLE X-18

AGE BEGAN HEAVY DRINKING - BY OFFENDER GROUPS

Age Began Heavy Drinking	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
11-15 years	-		-		3	2.7	1	3.0
16-20	7	18.9	10	21.3	24	21.6	4	12.1
21-25	9	24.3	6	12.8	34	30.6	5	15.2
26-30	10	27.0	15	31.9	27	24.3	7	21.2
31-35	5	13.5	7	14.9	11	9.9	7	21.2
36-40	3	8.1	6	12.8	6	5.4	7	21.2
41-45	-		-		2	1.8	-	
46-50	1	2.7	1	2.1	2	1.8	-	
51-55	-		-		-		1	3.0
56 and over	-		-		-		1(56 yrs.)	3.0
Never	2	5.4	1	2.1	2	1.8	-	
N.A.	-		1	2.1	-		-	
Total	37	99.9	47	100.0	111	99.9	33	99.9
Mean	26.9		27.7		25.5		30.4	

Again using the age at first arrest for drunkenness as the point of entry into the revolving door pattern, we can estimate the length of time the men have spent in this pattern (Table X-19). Sixty-seven (33% of the 203 who gave their age at first drunkenness arrest) had been in the pattern less than 10 years. As we would expect from the preceding information, a much higher proportion of the Criminal groups shows a longer period of involvement in the revolving door than the Pure Drunks or the Petty Offenders.

TABLE X-19

PERIOD OF TIME SPENT IN THE REVOLVING DOOR PATTERN

Estimated Time	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Crims.		Serious Crims	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 10 years	17	50.0	14	36.8	30	30.0	6	19.3
Over 10 years	17	50.0	24	63.2	70	70.0	25	80.6
Total	34	100.0	38	100.0	100	100.0	31	99.9

First Adult Arrest

The information on the nature of the first adult arrest was obtained from the men in interview and is therefore available only for the complete sample (N = 235). The findings may not be completely accurate, as the information was not validated in all cases by entries in either the police or the criminal records. This is partly accounted for by the outcome of some first arrests not ending in a conviction.

The first arrests cover almost as wide a variety as lifetime arrests (Table X-20). Public intoxication, gainful offences, assault, and theft of auto, rank highest as first offences with all the offenders. Missing among first offences are drug offences and fraud. This is understandable since those persons convicted later of drug offences were probably (like Patrick Green, See Appendix I) first guilty of theft or shop-lifting to get money for drugs. Fraud, as we have seen, although it is spread out fairly evenly among the age groups, does not tend to be a youthful offence and is definitely related to length of time spent in the revolving door.

Interestingly, there appears to be some correlation between first arrest and subsequent criminal career pattern. For instance, public intoxication contributes 69 per cent of the first adult arrests of the Pure Drunks, 50 per cent of the Petty Offenders, 36.9 per cent of the Minor Criminals, but only 5.9 per cent of the Serious Criminals: whereas 22.5 per cent of the Minor Criminals committed theft as a first offence compared with 70.6 per cent of the Serious Criminals.

TABLE X-20

OFFENCE CATEGORY OF FIRST ADULT ARREST BY SUB-GROUPINGS

Offence Category	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals		All Offenders	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gainful	-	-	1	2.1	25	22.5	24	70.6	50	21.3
Gainful with violence	-	-	-	-	1	0.9	2	5.9	3	1.3
Theft of automobiles	2[a]	4.8	-	-	10	9.0	1	2.9	13	5.5
Malicious Damage to property	1[b]	2.4	1	2.1	1	0.9	-	-	3	1.3
Assault	1[b]	2.4	1	2.1	8	7.2	1	2.9	11	4.7
Offences related to chronic drunkenness	-	-	2	4.2	5	4.5	1	2.9	8	3.4
Drunkenness	29	69.0	24	50.0	41	36.9	2	5.9	96	40.9
B.L.C.A. - other than drunkenness	1	2.4	5	10.4	3	2.7	-	-	9	3.8
Sex	-	-	-	-	4	3.6	1	2.9	5	2.1
Drugs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	2	4.8	9	18.7	10	9.0	2	5.9	23	9.8
Not answered	6	14.3	5	10.4	3	2.7	-	-	14	6.0
Total	42	100.1	48	100.0	111	99.9	34	99.9	235	100.1

[a] In the case of one of these arrests a fine was paid; the other case was dismissed.

[b] Case dismissed.

Rates of Arrest for Public Intoxication

Blacker (2,p.69) points out that the rate of convictions for public intoxication increases progressively with age. Our hypothesis is that the rate of convictions for public intoxication increases with the length of time spent in the revolving door. That is, increased drunkenness arrests are less a function of increased age than of a particular way of life. Also, the longer the involvement in the revolving door the faster becomes the vicious cycle. Every aspect of the way of life of the C.D.O. points to this supposition. The C.D.O. is no longer merely a heavy drinker, carrying on either a comparatively normal life with the responsibilities of a job and family or even the more deviant life of the successful criminal. As he is subjected to more frequent incarcerations he is likely to lose his steady employment (or exchange the more profitable criminal activities for petty theft) and to become separated from his family and no longer the family breadwinner. Much of his motivation to work has gone. He lacks both the moral support and the social restraint of friends and a family group. With an increasing dependence on alcohol he spends more and more of his time drinking. He becomes increasingly conspicuous and more vulnerable to arrest through his shabby appearance, the necessity of spending much of his time wandering out-of-doors and drinking in public places.

However, the C.D.O. who does not carry on criminal activities is likely to stay within the family group for a longer period of time.[7] He is not a 'bad guy' and family and friends and work mates are likely to cover for him. It takes him longer to move to Skid Row and to be integrated into the Skid Row way of life. Since he does not depend

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[7] For instance, he is more likely to have been married for a longer time. See "Adult Lives of a Sample of Chronic Drunkenness Offenders in Toronto as Examined Through the Framework of the Undersocialization Conception," Kuusisto, N., 1966 (unpublished M.A. Dissertation, University of Toronto).

on crime for his finances, he may get his funds from a pension or be given handouts from his family - or he may take occasional short-term jobs. If he does have this comparative financial independence he is more likely to be able to maintain a room of his own and do his drinking in it. For the Pure Drunk, drinking is likely to be his only form of deviance so that he will, for a longer time, be subject (in other respects) to the values of the larger society.

The criminal chronic drunkenness offender is a deviant from society in at least two ways, so that, ipso facto, he is even more estranged from society and its values than the Pure Drunk. He is less likely to spend time at legitimate means of making money. If he shoplifts he may more quickly get the money for a spree than the man who works a week or two - and will therefore probably get drunk more quickly on leaving jail.

We have hypothesized that the criminal C.D.O., once in the revolving door, is more vulnerable to arrest and will have a more accelerated rate of convictions for drunkenness than the C.D.O. who is not a criminal.

These are hypotheses which we can test only for the past 6 years because we do not have lifetime figures on drunkenness arrests. The data obtained from the Police Records are, however, relatively complete and reliable for the past 6 years but cover only those convictions for drunkenness which occurred in Toronto.

When we check the figures for drunkenness arrests over the past 12 months with the past 6 years (Tables X-21 and X-22) we can see a similar general trend. The Pure Drunks tend to have fewer arrests than the Serious Criminals. The Petty Offenders and the Minor Criminals have somewhat similar patterns, although the Minor Criminals have more in the low rate of convictions and fewer in the highest rate of convictions than the Petty Offenders.

The mean number of drunkenness arrests for the total sample over the 12-month period is 6. The Pure Drunks have a mean of 5.5 and the Serious Criminals a mean of 7.2. Fifty-seven per cent of the Pure Drunks had fewer than 6 convictions, whereas only 16 per cent of the Serious Criminals had this few.

Since many of the men have not always been in Toronto during the 6-year period, some having migrated to Toronto later and some moving in and out for varying lengths of time, we examined the rate of convictions per 6 months spent in Toronto over the 6 years. Again the Serious Criminal subgroup has the highest rate of convictions, although it is not statistically significant. In the higher frequencies, 3-6 convictions per six months, the Serious Criminals had 68.4 per cent, as compared to 30.8 per cent of the Pure Drunks.

TABLE X-21

COMPARISON OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DRUNKENNESS CONVICTIONS IN THE PAST SIX YEARS AMONG OFFENDER GROUPS

Number of Drunkenness Convictions	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-10	20	38	12	21	32	23	6	17	70	24.5
11-20	19	37	17	30	48	35	10	26	94	33.0
21-30	10	19	12	21	34	25	9	25	65	22.8
Over 30	3	6	16	28	24	17	13	32	56	19.6
Total	52		57		138		38		285	99.9

TABLE X-22

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS OVER LAST 12 MONTHS BY SUBGROUPS

Number of Drunkenness Convictions	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
2-3	8	15	4	7	21	15	3	8	36
4-5	22	42	12	21	44	32	3	8	81
6-7	13	25	27	47	48	35	16	42	104
8+	9	12	14	25	25	18	16	42	64
Total	52		57		138		38		285

So far the figures show us that the Serious Criminal has more convictions for drunkenness than the Pure Drunk. Does he have an accelerated rate of convictions?

We took the annual rate of convictions over the 6-year period and discovered (Table X-23) that whereas all the offender groups showed an increase in the rates of arrest, the Serious Criminals showed the highest, with a smooth decrease in the order of descendancy to the Pure Drunks who showed the least.

The findings indicated in Tables X-19 and X-20 do seem to support in part our hypothesis that criminals are more vulnerable to arrest than non-criminals. Actually, all non-drunkenness offenders, including Petty Offenders, are more vulnerable in the sense that they tend to have many more convictions for drunkenness than the Pure Drunks. The Serious Criminal is much the most vulnerable but the Minor Criminal is not much different from the Petty Offender in this respect.

Also, the criminal group has a more accelerated rate of convictions than the non-criminal group over 6 years, which means that as they have become involved in the C.D.O. way of life they have become involved with increasing rapidity and depth. The extent to which they have become involved has already been seen. Table X-9 showed us that Serious Criminals were more likely to have been convicted in the past 6 years of such other breaches of the Liquor Control Act as drinking in an illegal place or drinking non-beverage alcohol than the Pure Drunks. Also, they have been charged with vagrancy and trespassing more frequently than either the Petty Offenders or the Minor Criminals; whereas, of course, Pure Drunks have not been arrested on these charges at all.

Not only are the Serious Criminals arrested more frequently and with an accelerated rate than the Pure Drunks, but they began to be arrested earlier for drunkenness (Table X-15).

TABLE X-23

TREND OF CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS OVER THE PAST SIX YEARS (N=285)

Group	Increase %	Decrease %	Constant %	Total %
Pure Drunks	75.0	3.8	21.1	100
Petty Offenders	77.2	3.5	19.3	100
Minor Criminals	85.8	1.4	13.8	100
Serious Criminals	95.8	2.6	2.6	100
Total sample	82.4	2.5	15.1	100

TABLE X-24

LENGTH OF TIME SINCE LAST CONVICTION FOR AN INDICTABLE OFFENCE

Elapsed Time	Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals		Total Criminals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-2 years	48	34.8	18	47.4	66	37.5
2-4	27	19.6	6	15.8	33	18.7
4-6	9	6.5	2	5.3	11	6.2
6-10	26	18.8	7	18.4	33	18.7
10-15	15	10.8	2	5.3	17	9.7
15-25	7	5.1	3	7.9	10	5.7
Over 25 years	6	4.3	-	-	6	3.4
Total	138	99.9	38	100.1	176	99.9

TABLE X-25

STABILITY OF THE FOUR GROUPS OF CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDERS ACCORDING TO THE STABILITY TYPOLOGY

Stability	Pure Drunks		Petty Offenders		Minor Criminals		Serious Criminals		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Stable	18	14.5	21	19.2	36	40.6	13	12.8	88
Unstable	16	19.5	24	25.8	61	55.6	17	17.2	118
Total	34		45		97		30		206[a]

[a] 18 were either marginal (i.e. score of 0) or gave no answer.

We made the hypothesis that the pure drunk chronic drunkenness offenders are more stable, or in Blacker's term more socialized than the criminal C.D.O.s. Blacker equated socialization with the development of the ego and/or superego. We might define the term operationally as active participation in the accepted relationships of the dominant culture over a period of time.

To determine the stability of the men we composed a stability index or typology according to 5 background factors (see Appendix II for a description of the composition of the index, the method of scoring, and the relationship of stability with other presumably related variables.)

We found that there are no significant differences in stability among the Pure Drunks and the other types of offenders (Table X-25). We did find, however, that our group of drunks tended, when married, to stay married longer than the others, although they were just as likely as the criminal offenders never to have married at all.

This does not bear out our hypothesis or Blacker's tentative conclusion that the pure drunk offenders are more socialized or stable in terms of those background characteristics that we consider to indicate a certain social stability, than the petty or serious criminals.

And yet, the criminal groups have been involved in the revolving door longer than the pure drunks; were arrested for drunkenness at an earlier age; and have had more convictions for drunkenness than the pure drunks. Our rationale for the hypotheses (which were substantiated by the data) was that the pure drunks had a longer period of social stability than the criminals, that they remained in the protective environment of their families and work situations for longer periods. This does not seem to have been the case - except in the minor way mentioned above, that marriages tended to last longer with the pure drunks.

In short, chronic drunkenness offenders who have only been convicted on public drunkenness charges are not more stable socially than the C.D.O.s. with petty or serious criminal convictions. Perhaps the reasons are that many of the crimes are related to heavy drinking (assault) or to the C.D.O. way of life (theft, vagrancy), both of which are common to almost all of the men. We suspect that even the pure drunks, given time, become petty criminals. For the rest, both the drunkenness and the criminality may indicate two different adjustments to a common misfit (or lack of social stability) in society.

DISCUSSION

Apart from disclosing a further aspect of the life and activities of the chronic drunkenness offender which might help us to understand and deal with his present behaviour, this examination of his criminal career is pertinent for all those who are concerned with the extent to which the C.D.O. can be considered a serious menace to society.

Although we have established that a relationship exists between criminality and the revolving door, we have also shown that all chronic drunks are not and probably will not become, serious criminals. They very probably will, however, become petty criminals or offenders, guilty of such summary offences as begging and trespassing.

Of the 176 chronic drunks who are or have been criminals,[8] 43.7 per cent have ceased to be so; that is, their last crime was committed at least 4 years ago and we have every reason to believe that many of the remaining men will cease their (serious) criminal activities the longer they remain in the revolving door.

Although some of the men may have become C.D.O.s. as a result of their failure to maintain themselves as criminals, the theory that all C.D.O.s. are burnt-out or unsuccessful criminals who have turned to drink has not been substantiated. Forty-five per cent of the criminals were arrested for drunkenness prior to being arrested for an indictable offence. Now, even though there may have been a considerable lapse between the first arrest for drunkenness and the second arrest for drunkenness, the probability is that the person was a heavy drinker during that period. It seems likely that where criminality exists, the same factors which make for drunkenness in a person's psychological and social background make for criminality: the same factors probably account for both aberrations. Moreover, it is unusual for chronic drunkenness to start only after criminality

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[8] i.e., guilty of indictable offences.

has ceased. Those few cases of abrupt transition from crime to drink have two obvious causes. One is concerned only secondarily with failure in the criminal career: it is really concerned with switching from narcotics-taking - with all the crimes attendant on drug addiction - to drinking alcohol. The other explanation for the definite demarcation of the two careers is that in some cases a person committed a single indiscretion in his youth which may have earned him a term in the penitentiary but it was never followed by another crime, or at any rate, by another conviction for an indictable offence. If the person did carry out other crimes it indicates his success rather than his lack of it, yet he still became a chronic drunkenness offender.

On the whole, then, it seems that criminality does not "cause" - because of failure or old age (burnt-out) - chronic drunkenness. A criminal who is a heavy drinker may, however, very likely become a chronic drunkenness offender. His heavy drinking will eventually reflect on his performance as a criminal; moreover, the heavy drinking criminal is even more vulnerable to arrest for drunkenness than the non-criminal C.D.O. and, once he has been arrested for drunkenness, will be arrested on that charge more frequently than the non-criminal heavy drinker. Thus his criminality may assist him in becoming a chronic drunkenness offender but is not the cause of his becoming one.

Is the reverse situation true? Does chronic drunkenness cause crime? Should we look at the chronic drunkenness offenders as potential criminals when it comes to our method of dealing with them?

Superficially we should have to answer yes to these questions. Two crimes appear to be causally related to "C.D.O.'ism", i.e. to the way of life of the chronic drunkenness offender. Both crimes increase with the length of time spent in the revolving door. A criminal who started out solely as a drunkenness offender is almost always guilty of one or both of these two crimes only. Both crimes - theft and fraud - are of a petty or minor nature once the offender has become a C.D.O.

This brings up an interesting distinction in alcohol-related crimes. There are those which are directly related to the consumption of alcohol and those which are a product of a way of life. In the former, alcohol by removing inhibitions becomes the primary or precipitating factor, as in assault, homicide and other crimes of violence. In the latter it is not the presence of alcohol but the need for it, which instigates the crime. Petty theft and minor fraud, the two crimes which comprise the majority of criminal convictions of the established chronic drunkenness offender, are seldom a direct result of drinking but are rather a product of the C.D.O.'s way of life. The chronic offender needs the money, which he is trying to get through stealing or by fraud, to drink and to live. The alternative ways of obtaining money are working and begging. His way of life frequently precludes the former and a certain philosophy the latter. Both are, of course, used at times and by certain of the C.D.O.s. but when not feasible, stealing is resorted to. Probably the reason for the upsurge of petty fraud with increased involvement in the revolving door is that it presents an alternative, albeit a criminal one, to stealing. The person passes a dud cheque to cover a week's rent rather than stealing which is especially troublesome since it is likely to be merchandise rather than money which is stolen, and the merchandise has to be converted into cash.

Although alcohol may be said to cause some types of crime, it inhibits others, due to the very ineptitude of persons under the influence of alcohol. And just as the C.D.O. way of life instigates certain crimes, it appears to be incompatible with or to stifle other types of crime. For example, the chronic drunk is particularly sensitive to creating a disturbance: he knows his appearance and his record will be against him in the event of police interference. He tries to avoid situations and persons that are likely to engender complaints. Hence the alcohol-related crimes of violence, such as assault, are seldom committed by the C.D.O., particularly the C.D.O. of long standing. His way of life with its spree type drinking, its poverty, its orientation to getting the next bottle, is not conducive to extensive planning for a big robbery. Sexual crimes are seldom committed by these men: the more integrated they are in the Skid Row C.D.O. way of life, the less interest they have in sex in general.

On the one hand, the C.D.O. has been freed from the controls of his family and the restrictions of the conventional society he has forsaken. He is able to commit acts against a society whose values no longer have much meaning for him. But as he becomes caught up in another way of life, that life imposes its own restrictions on him. The routine of a life geared to getting enough cheap alcohol for a spree, which involves living in flophouses or out-of-doors, eating at Missions or not at all, cadging or stealing money to drink, drinking in alleyways or lavatories, having little or no contact with family or former friends, knowing only casual acquaintances, 'drinking pals' - all this indicates a degraded type of existence which is notable for its emotional flatness. Any dreams or aspirations are unrealistic ("Oh, to live a normal married life, and work") where they exist at all ("There's no point making wishes, nothing can change") and not very important to the men either as motivation to action or as 'escape'. Their horizons are very limited, their future assured and immediate: jail. The very certainty, even inflexibility of this pattern, seems to prevent those crimes which require imagination, a certain length of time to evolve, and an indeterminate future.

The criminal career pattern of the C.D.O. is by and large separated into two phases in terms of offences committed. The first, which starts before the person enters the revolving door or at the same time, is characterized more by the alcohol-related crimes and other types of crime unrelated either to alcohol or to the C.D.O. way of life. Those offences towards the family such as assault, desertion, non-support, are likely to be in the heavy drinking period and early involvement in the revolving door, but decrease as the person cuts adrift from the family and enters Skid Row. The second phase is characterized by an increase in the number of drunkenness convictions, an increase of petty theft and fraud and a marked decrease in all other types of indictable offences. Vagrancy and trespassing, undoubted consequences of the Skid Row C.D.O. way of life, increase. The chronic drunkenness offender who becomes a criminal later in his career tends to enter it, as it were, at the second phase.

For those interested in whether the chronic drunk is going to give problems in the criminal area, an important point to consider is the size of the community with which they are dealing. C.D.O.s. in a small community seldom indulge in criminal behaviour. and when they do it is almost always of a minor nature. Although some may be transients, most of them are probably still living with their families and subject to their influence and protection. If they can be helped at this stage the chances are reasonable that they will not become criminals.

On the whole we can say that a criminal career is an integral part of the Skid Row C.D.O. way of life in big cities but only in a limited sense. The way of life seems to impose a pattern on the individual whether he started out as a criminal or as a drunkenness offender only, in regard to the type of crime he commits. It also limits the amount of his criminal behaviour, for the longer he has been a C.D.O. the more time he spends in jail on drunkenness charges and the less time is left for involvement in criminal activities.

It is safe to predict that if the chronic drunks had the financial resources to draw on to allow them to carry on a drinking existence, most would cease to engage in criminal activities.

APPENDIX I

CASE HISTORIES

Patrick Green: Case history of a person whose criminal career ceased when he became a chronic drunkenness offender.

Patrick Green was the middle one of seven children born to Canadian parents, both of whom were of Irish extraction and devout Roman Catholics. His childhood was spent in and around Montreal where his father, who worked as an accountant, was able to keep the family comfortably.

Patrick was very fond of both of his parents, who got along well together. He was closely attached to his mother but looked up to his father who he thought was the best person in the world.

However, when Patrick was 13 the brother who was one year older than he, and possibly of all the children the father's favourite, was killed in a railway accident. The father was inconsolable and began to drink heavily, spending much of his spare time in bars and taverns. Patrick was disillusioned and missed the companionship his father had given him prior to his brother's death.

At age 16, having completed the equivalent of Grade XII, he left school voluntarily for a job in the shipyards, which he left the following year when his mother died. He took a 6-month business course at a college but began drifting around in a crowd of narcotics users and very soon became addicted to drugs himself. He began stealing, shop-lifting, and hotel-prowling, either on his own or with other addicts. Not wanting his family to know he was an addict he went to Chicago where he got a job using his business course knowledge. Since the pay was not sufficient to keep him supplied with the heroin, morphine, or cocaine he used, he left his job, resumed his stealing, was caught and given a year in the House of Corrections.

On his release, at the age of 20, he came to Toronto where he continued to steal for drug money and began a pattern of being jailed or sent to the penitentiary for stealing or possessing and using drugs.

Although he had his first sexual experience at the age of 15 with a neighbourhood girl, he says "Once I got addicted to drugs I never bothered much with that at any time." At the age of 29 he secured a job as office manager and during this short period of steady, legal employment he got married. His wife was what he terms a 'good girl' who was very upset when she found out, after they were married, that he was a drug addict. After two weeks he found he had lost all sexual desire, which he claims was due to his drug addiction, and after four months, rather than get his wife into trouble, he left her and has never seen her since.

All in all, he has had 13 narcotics convictions - 6 for possession, 6 for theft, and 1 for forging a doctor's prescription. He has had many shoplifting and stealing convictions,and convictions for forging cheques, but none for breaking and entering or sexual assault or for any crimes of violence. Apart from the three jobs mentioned, his 'employment' for most of his life has consisted of stealing to provide funds for narcotics. All the crimes he committed were for the one specific purpose of enabling him to get drugs.

When he was 49 he was sent to Kingston Penitentiary for illegal possession of drugs for 2 1/2 years. The magistrate at the time also threatened him with an habitual criminal charge but because he had not been selling the drugs the magistrate took no action. However, when Patrick came out of the Penitentiary at the age of 51, he knew if he were ever again up on such a charge he would be given a life sentence. Fear of this made him,

at the age of 51, give up drugs and turn instead to liquor.

> I started drinking in place of narcotics. The reason for that is fear of a life sentence - it's still hanging over my head, otherwise I'd still be on narcotics ... You don't get the same effect with alcohol. They say alcohol is a stimulant. I find it more of a depressant ...

Perhaps for this reason Patrick almost immediately started to drink heavily; shortly afterwards began morning drinking; very quickly became a Skid Row chronic drunk, suffering shakes and blackouts and drinking rubbing alcohol. He was arrested for drunkenness the same year he began to drink and during the 10 years from then to the present time he has served about 43 sentences for drunkenness or related charges. Very occasionally he has done some seasonal work, mostly picking fruit, and at one time went to Sudbury where, at the age of 58, he had a common-law marriage which broke up because of his drinking.

He no longer steals or swindles to get money, has had no criminal convictions in the last 10 years, but is still able to call on his old penitentiary pals for money. Sometimes they pay his fine or part of it; to provide for his last drunk he was given $100.

During the last two years, when not in jail (which is about one-half of the time) he has lived in a rooming house. He feels lonely all the time, which is perhaps why he only likes to drink in company. He still has 'friends' who are mostly working men, and 'acquaintances' who are mostly men he met in the penitentiary.

Hector McLeod: Case history of a man whose criminal career began after he became a chronic drunkenness offender.

Hector was born in Nova Scotia of Scotch-descended Nova Scotian parents 50 years ago, the 8th of 10 children. Neither of his parents drank or smoked. The father, a foreman in a factory, was a good provider and the atmosphere in the family was a happy one.

Hector went to the Roman Catholic church with his parents until his middle teens. He had lots of friends, both boys and girls, but little ambition and disliked having to attend school, which he left at the age of 15 when he was in the equivalent of Grade V. He had a part-time job until he was 18, when he got full-time employment as an ice man. At the age of 20 he began work in the mines, since his pals were working in the mines, and the pay was better. He began to drink at that time, although his father would not permit him to drink in the home. He had his first 'drunk' very shortly and had soon tried rubbing alcohol, shaving lotion and strawberry extract.

He had quite a few heterosexual relations from the age of 17 until he was married at the age of 25. Although he did not begin drinking heavily until he was about 34, he was drinking sufficiently that he was arrested and given 60 days for creating a disturbance (breaking windows and drunken argument) when he was 30, and shortly after his release given another 60 days for assault. He had been arrested several times for drunkenness prior to that but had always paid the fines.

The following year he was sent to the penitentiary for two years for theft.

Not long after he came out of the penitentiary his wife became mentally ill and was sent to the "insane asylum". Their three daughters were sent to a Home. With the breaking up of his family, Hector too went to pieces. He left his job in the mines within four months of his wife's departure, not because of his drinking but 'it was just that I didn't care'. He began to drink very heavily and to drift about, doing odd jobs and 'having a good time'. He failed to provide any support for his wife and children and was sentenced to one year in prison. His wife died about a year-and-a-half after she went in to the hospital.

Hector spent one year as a labourer in a steel company at the age of 36 but this was the last steady employment he had. After that he drifted around Nova Scotia and just let himself go, to use his own words. He was arrested for drunkenness and obstructing a police officer when he was 41 and 4 years later spent 6 months in jail for vagrancy, followed shortly by another 6 months on the same charge. At the age of 48 he was jailed for causing a disturbance and the same year was ordered to leave the city of Halifax, having been arrested for theft.

Three-and-a-half years ago a fellow with whom he was driving suggested they go to Toronto, which is how he came to be here. Here he mixes chiefly with other Maritimers, some of whom work and others are leading the same life as he. Although he would like to hear from his brothers and sisters he is ashamed for them to know how he is living.

Since coming to Toronto he has been arrested for drunkenness or vagrancy only.

He sometimes does odd jobs when he isn't drinking or in jail - where he spends about 5 months of each year.

Fred Williams: An example of a chronic drunkenness offender whose criminal career has consisted entirely of Breaches of the Liquor Control Act.

Fred Williams is 54. In the past 6 years he has been arrested at least 36 times for being drunk. All told, he has been arrested well over 50 times for drunkenness but was 44 years old before he served a jail sentence, having paid many fines before that. He has never been arrested on any charge other than Breaches of the Liquor Control Act.

Fred took his first drink at a party when he was 17, and first got drunk at the age of 19. He drank because he liked it, thought he could hold his liquor, and because drinking provided jolly company. Perhaps he was also rebelling against the strict discipline of his Scottish-born, abstaining, Presbyterian father. He became a heavy drinker when he was 28 or 30 and found he had lost control over his drinking by the age of 40, while he was in the Army. He now gets the shakes, has blackouts every time he goes on a binge, and feels he drinks so much because he has too much leisure time (being unemployed), no responsibilities, and because he enjoys the company of other drinkers.

Fred was the 6th of 9 children. He came to Toronto from Scotland when he was 5. The family was comfortably off, the father being a Post Office clerk. Fred went to Sunday School until he was 14 and attended the Y.M.C.A. He had lots of friends of both sexes.

His parents got along well; their only quarrels were over their children. The mother, who was gentle and loving, attempted to shield the children against the father's harsh discipline and canings. The father had a thorough respect for education and very little for such frivolities as shows and spectator sports. He had more ambition for Fred than Fred had for himself, and was angry when Fred quit school at the age of 14. In fact, he insisted that Fred attend night school and enrolled himself to make sure Fred got there.

After one 6-month job Fred got a job, at the age of 15, as a labourer in a big factory, and this he kept for 18 years until he joined the Army at the age of 33.

When he was 19 he married the only girl with whom he had had sexual relations and who was 6 months pregnant. He was anxious to marry her but claims his father prevented him until he left home. The couple lived for a while with Fred's oldest brother Jim and his wife, an unfortunate move since Jim was a very heavy drinker. Fred's wife first drank withhim to be sociable but eventually, he says, 'got religion' and tried to get him to stop drinking. However, it may be that Mrs. Williams tried to get him to stop drinking because there was so little money coming in and because he would go out to drinking parties and stay until all hours of the night. Sometimes Fred made only $3 to $6 per week, so that they were forced to sell some of their furniture and get relief from a welfare agency.

Fred was in the Army from the age of 33 to 38, on active combat duty, spending a year in Italy, where he drank a great deal of the local wine. He was unable to settle down in his old job after his discharge and continued to drink heavily. He has had casual jobs since that time except for a 2-year period in the Sanitarium when he was 44-46.

After 28 years of marriage and 4 children his wife obtained a legal separation.

Now Fred has no permanent place of abode. He sleeps in the Salvation Army Hostel, sometimes at a sister's, frequently in the back of a friend's truck. He tried Alcoholics Anonymous for 6 months 10 years ago, and after treatment at the Alex. G. Brown Clinic was once sober for 6 months, but gradually got caught up with the old crowd and began drinking again. He doesn't go near his 'real' friends any more, but he has many drinking companions. He now drinks mostly wine and since he lives 'outside' is forced to do most of his drinking outside; that is, in such illegal places as garages, laneways, washrooms, and behind a big factory building. He sometimes gets money from his sisters but mostly bums it from his drinking pals. In short, he leads a typically Skid Row type of existence, of which two-thirds is spent in jail.

Joseph Taylor: Example of a chronic drunkenness offender who began his criminal career prior to drinking and who continued his criminal behaviour after involvement in the revolving door.

Joseph is a 51-year-old Mississauga Indian, who was born on an Indian reserve in Ontario. He was three years old when his father deserted the family and his mother took Joseph and his 2-year-old brother to Toronto where she found housework to support them. She was kind and loving as a mother. Although she had little formal education she had musical ability and was organist at her Roman Catholic church (which Joseph did not attend).

There were times when it was difficult to make ends meet, although they always had enough to eat, helped out by provisions brought to them from the Reserve by Joseph's grandfather. Joseph sold newspapers on the street from the age of 6. For a two-year period beginning when he was 8 his mother was out of work and they had to apply for relief. When Joseph was 11 his mother began to live with a man whom he calls his stepfather and whom he liked very much.

Joseph describes himself as having had a happy nature, but says he was unruly and sarcastic, a 'bad boy'. He had a few minor brushes with the law (for stealing bananas, picking up coke alongside a railway track) and once when he was 9, while looking for some bottles to sell he found some full bottles of wine. He drank it, became very drunk and sick, and didn't drink again until he was 22 or so.

He was also a restless lad and at the age of 12, when he had finished grade VII, he just took off from home with a friend for Northern Ontario and eventually Winnipeg. He supported himself by stealing. He returned home the following year but did not get a job until he was 15. He was first arrested when he was 17 for safe-breaking, an act of which he claims to have been innocent. He was sent to Guelph Reformatory for 10 months. A year later he received a year-and-a-half in Mimico for car theft and breaking and entering. Shortly after his release he was given two years in Kingston Penitentiary for car theft. Here he learned the trade

of tailoring and when he was given a 'ticket of leave' after serving one year, he secured a job in a large tailoring establishment through the help of the John Howard Society.

It was at this time, when he was 23, that he married a girl two years his senior, who was part French and part Indian. They had one daughter, who is now 28, but whom Joseph hasn't seen since she was 10. He continued to work for various tailoring companies for a couple of years but was again sent to Guelph for 6 months for receiving stolen property. He broke jail, was later caught and sentenced to 7 years in Kingston Penitentiary for breaking prison, assault and bodily harm, burglary, breaking and entering, and theft. Of the 10 years his marriage lasted, over 7 were spent in incarceration.

It was when his wife left him that Joseph began to drink and almost immediately to drink heavily and to require a morning drink. By the age of 40 he was having the shakes and blackouts and drinking mostly wine and every kind of non-beverage alcohol when he was unable to get anything else.

When he came out of the Penitentiary the John Howard Society got him a job which he kept for one week before taking off. For four months he worked the carnivals around Southern Ontario, getting hired and fired, he says, so often for drinking that he didn't know whether he was working or not. Apart from actual pay, the carnivals provided ample opportunity for stealing.

For a 9-month period he held a steady job as production man in a stove factory. He was proud of his work and the way he did it, but he felt he was abused by his boss and although the men stood by him he was 'too mad and proud' to stay. Shortly after he spent a year in Burwash for theft and vagrancy, after which he made his way out West, entering the States illegally. He was caught on a forgery charge in Washington and given 20 years, which was changed to 1 year and deportation. Not long after he was returned to British Columbia, he stole a car and was sent to prison for two years. After another 6-month term for theft he made his way back to Ontario, where he spent time in various jails on charges of theft or possession or drunkenness.

The best steady job he ever had was in Winnipeg, but there again the bosses were at fault; didn't know what they were doing, so that he felt all his hard work had been wasted. He prefers truck driving (where he is more or less his own boss) but hasn't done it for some time. His work has become more and more of the casual type, mostly working the 'shows' and picking fruit. The last Penitentiary term he served was 4 years ago for shopbreaking with intent.

In the past 6 years he has had some 30 drunkenness charges in Toronto alone. However, since he had been all over Ontario in that time, picked up for vagrancy and theft in various cities, it is probable he has also spent time for drunkenness in other places. He estimates he has been arrested 150 times altogether for drunkenness.

If you add up all the years to which Joseph has been sentenced to prison, it totals more than his present age.

Theft and auto theft are the most frequent of the serious offences with which he has been charged, with breaking-and-entering, forgery and receiving next. His last major sentence, one year ago, was for having an offensive weapon for which he served 30 days concurrently with a 30-day sentence for drunkenness. In the past 6 years all non-drinking offences except that one were for theft or possession or shopbreaking with intent.

Although Joseph is intelligent and certainly knows right from wrong, he has no remorse for his criminal activities, little awareness of his motives and does not profit from experience or punishment. He has a decidedly anti-social attitude, particularly against the whites; "The Indian people have been kept down so much and they are absolutely ignorant of city ways. They don't know the ways of the white men and they are taken in by the white man ... they are an easy mark or an easy lay".

His crimes are spontaneous rather than premeditated, which may account for his singular lack of success in carrying them out. Rather than being an illegal means of attaining the material satisfactions of life, his criminal activities seem to be the expression of his hostility to society.

APPENDIX II

It was decided to classify the men as 'stable' or 'unstable' according to the following five background factors, which seemed to us important indicators of social stability.

STABILITY INDEX

Background Factor	Positive	Negative
1. Tenure of longest job held	Over 5 years	5 years or under
2. Owned property	Yes, past or present	Never
3. Residential mobility	One community 5 years or more	One community Less than 5 years
4. Restlessness during adolescence	Not restless	Restless (including urge to travel)
5. Dominant relationship with women	Marriage or common-law	Other less enduring relationships

The scores ranged from +5 to -5.
The stable group scored +1 to +5: the unstable -1 to -5.
A small marginal or undetermined group remained, who scored 0.

(con'td. next page)

STABILITY INDEX - con'td.

Next we cross-tabulated stability with respect to other presumably related variables. The results were as follows:

1. Education.- The proportion of subjects with only elementary education or with high school or more was the same for the stable and the unstable groups.
2. Integration into Skid Row.- The stable group showed the same distribution of cases in Skid Row and non-Skid Row, and also similar variation in duration of Skid Row integration as the unstable group.
3. Parents' drinking habits.- The drinking habits of the parents of the stable group were the same as those of the unstable group.
4. Car or truck ownership.- No significant difference showed in the proportion who did or did not own a car or truck, either currently or in the past.
5. Subjects' birthplace (Canada).- Each location produced a proportionate number of stables and unstables.
6. Church attendance.- No significant differences.
7. Number of drunkenness convictions in the past 12 months.- No significant differences appeared.
8. Description of criminal career.- The range of offences was the same for each group.
9. Intelligence.- Both groups were distributed evenly over the range of scores.

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